THE UNITED STATES AND THIS WAR:

A WORD IN SEASON

ADDRESS

GIVEN BY

Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P.

AT A MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

held on Thursday, April 15, 1915,
at the Savoy Hotel,
On the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Death of Abraham Lincoln.

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(The Hon. W. Cameron Forbes in the Chair.)

THE UNITED STATES AND THIS WAR : A Word in Season

"At a Meeting of the Pilgrims, held at the Savoy Hotel last night, on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of Abraham Lincoln, Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., delivered an Address on 'The United States and the War; a Word in Season.' Mr. Harry E. Brittain, Chairman of the Executive Committee, received the Members and Guests, and Mr. Cameron Forbes, ex-Governor of the Phillipines, occupied the Chair.

"Messages relating to the subject of the Commemoration from Sir Joseph H. Choate, President of the Pilgrims of America, and Viscount Bryce, were read by Mr. Harry E. Brittain."

THE CHAIRMAN : It is my honour and pleasure to-night to occupy the Chairman's seat at this meeting and introduce the speaker. As an American I feel as though I cannot let this occasion pass without saying a word about the subject which is nearest to us all, The War. (Hear, hear.) We Americans are expected to remain neutral, and it is my belief that the United States can probably serve the world's interests best by remaining neutral—(hear, hear)—and yet our sympathies are not neutral—(hear, hear)—and except for those of immediate Germanic origin within our borders, I believe the great heart of the people of the United States beats for the Allies. It seems to us that Germany, by her manner of conducting this war, has alienated the sympathy of almost all the

world even of those who would have liked to have been her friends. We cannot help feeling that the Allies are fighting not only the battle for their nationalities, but the battle of Christianity, the battle of humanity, and that eventually the Germans themselves, when the war heat shall have become cold, will come to realise the fact that the best thing that could happen to them in their own interest, is that they should suffer an early and decisive defeat at the hands of the Allies. (Hear, hear.) On this day it is only natural that our thoughts should go back to the great war President of the United States, the fiftieth anniversary of whose death we commemorate to-night. In America our democracy is such that the lines between the different social strata are less distinctly drawn than in older communities, and hence we have more chance for those of lower origin to force their way upwards. In times of national peril people look for a Moses or a Kitchener to lead them into safety. In America the field from which that leader may be drawn is somewhat wider, and it so happened in our day of peril that the man selected was of the most humble origin, a backwoodsman, a hewer of logs, a tiller of the soil, untaught, uncultivated, uncouth, Abraham Lincoln, and yet our people have come to venerate this Frontiersman as the second greatest figure in our history—(hear, hear)—and it seems almost paradoxical that his letters and speeches should rank as the greatest masterpieces in our literature. Fifty years ago last month he took the oath of office as President of the United States for the second time, just as the Civil War was drawing to a close. Let me read a few words from his inaugural address on that occasion :—

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish, a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

Those were the closing words of President Lincoln's inaugural address. Gentlemen, my duty here to-night is not to speak, but to introduce the speakers, and I have the pleasure of introducing to you your Chairman, Mr. Harry Brittain. (Applause.)

Mr. Harry E. Brittain: Mr. Chairman and Brother Pilgrims, I am merely an interlude—but an interlude to give you two messages, which, I am sure, you will appreciate.

The first is from the President of the Pilgrims across the Atlantic, one of America's finest sons, whose days as Ambassador to the Court of St. James will ever be held in happy memory by the people of this country. (Cheers.)

This is the cable from the Hon. Joseph H. Choate.

"The Pilgrims of the United States unite most heartily with British Pilgrims in their commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the death of Abraham Lincoln, the foremost champion of freedom, humanity, and good faith. If he were living to-day, we know how heartily he would sympathise with you, in the terrible contest you are waging in the defence of those great causes; how emphatically he would have protested against the gross

violation of treaties, and the utter repudiation of all the progress that has been made by civilised nations in the last fifty years in mitigating the barbarous horrors of war, and, at the same time, how earnestly he would have insisted upon his country conforming with the strictest fidelity to all the obligations of neutrals, while stoutly maintaining their rights." (Loud applause.)

The second message is from our distinguished Brother Pilgrim, Viscount Bryce, of whom we can also truly say that few men have better earned the sincere esteem and regard which is assuredly his, wherever the English tongue is spoken. (Cheers.)

Lord Bryce writes as follows :—

"April 15th, 1915.

"Dear Mr. Brittain,—I greatly regret that I cannot be with you this evening. You do well to commemorate at this anniversary the life and character of Abraham Lincoln. Though he belongs, first of all, to the United States, whose maintenance as a free Republic, one and indivisible, he did more than any other man to secure, he belongs also to Democracy, to the English race, and to the world. He belongs to Democracy because he gave a splendid example of how much a plain and simple man, with no advantages of education or connections, can accomplish, and because the plain men of his nation showed that they could recognise his gifts, and rally to him in the hour of danger. He belongs to the Race, not merely as a man of pure English blood, but also because his qualities were those which Englishmen and Americans like to think of as their favourite ideal—courage, honesty,

public spirit, a kindliness and tenderness of nature. He belongs to the World, because he stands out like George Washington, as an instance of how greatness and unending fame may be achieved by the simple virtues when subjected to a trial that calls them forth. Not by dazzling genius, like Julius Cæsar or Napoleon, not by consummate statecraft and a ruthless will, like Richelieu or Bismarck, but by faith in justice, by unswerving devotion to duty, by patience and courage, serenity and self-control did he win the confidence and the love of the people, and leave, like Washington, a name fit to inspire all who, in the Old World or the New, may seek to render unselfish service to their country. I am, Sincerely yours, BRYCE." (Loud applause.)

It now comes my pleasing privilege to call upon Sir Gilbert Parker to give us the address of the evening. (Applause.)

SIR GILBERT PARKER : Mr. Chairman and brother Pilgrims, I think the Chairman has done well in doing nothing more than mentioning my name because I am no stranger, but a Pilgrim of the Pilgrims. In this great international society—this great international Anglo-Saxon society—the boundary line between the two people is, from almost every standpoint, obliterated in sympathetic understanding and good feeling. Take the Chairman of the Pilgrims. When he goes to America he is almost considered an American, and here so high does he stand in the goodwill of all American people that he is regarded as a comrade and a brother who has the gift of understanding the people of that great Republic. By instinct he has under-

stood them, where so many have had to gain their knowledge after long years of study of the American characteristics, and the closer acquaintance with the American on this soil and on that. Now this commemorative meeting has been opened by an American who has the fullest understanding of what Abraham Lincoln did for his country. It would not become me to add to anything that he has said. There is only one point on which I will touch, and it is this. A great many people looking back —Americans also—to the time in which Lincoln worked, travailled, and flourished, regarded him only as a triumphant figure passing from victory to victory to the final accomplishment of American union unassailable and unbreakable. But those who have studied American history know that during those five years in which Lincoln sat at the head of the Government of the American Republic, and represented the American Union, it was an incessant and heartbreaking struggle, in which Lincoln suffered not only the agony of seeing a vast population within his own country at war with the other and larger portion of the population, but also suffered criticism, and something almost like violence and hatred, from those who ought to have more clearly understood the greatness of his purpose and the soundness of his actions. The weight that Mr. Asquith has had to bear in this country is nothing to what Lincoln endured. He had 21,000 regular troops with which to open the war, and not a single general of proved knowledge and experience to advise him. Generals, like Grant, grew, emerged out of the terrible and agonising struggle to accomplish in the end a majestic victory. I shall no longer speak of this, further than to say that those who

have read Lincoln's history will not alone regard him as a man who had faced great or grave anxieties, but as a man who had suffered martyrdom during every one of those five years of war. He was well prepared for his passage hence when the time came for a ruthless hand to lay him low. With reference to the war which tries us as that great Civil War tried the Americans to the uttermost, if I may be permitted I wish to say something upon the situation; and I am not certain that what I say will have the assent of everybody; but I am certain that everybody in this room will give me credit for possessing a very deep sympathy with the United States. I was born on the American Continent, under the British Flag, but that did not prevent me from very early understanding the spirit and temper of the American people. You will decide to-night whether I misinterpret the present situation.

War is the supreme test of the qualities of a nation, and it will be admitted by independent opinion in neutral countries that the people of Great Britain have stood the test well. Peace has its great tests also, and the country that stands outside the ring of fighters is tested almost as searchingly as any belligerent country. The belligerent country has not to weigh its every action with exquisite nicety, because war gives wide liberty, though it still must walk with guarded footsteps where neutral nations are concerned; it must have strict regard for their rights under the rules of International Law and the long precedents of naval warfare. The neutral country, however, which stands, as it were, between the combatants, holding the balance level, has a task that tests its statesmanship and the character of its people as it is never tested in ordinary

peace times, or in ordinary war times. In this extraordinary war, the American Government and American people have been supremely tested, and they have stood the test nobly. The United States—the chief of all the neutral nations—had a gravely important part to play both from the moral and from, what may be called, the political side.

Four of the greatest nations of the world are at war, and it is natural that each of the two sets of belligerents wish for the moral support of ninety millions of people, whose power through their Government to affect the ultimate result of the war by their influence with other neutral countries cannot be over-estimated. Official bias in dealing with questions such as contraband, purchase of ships, blockade, and so on, towards either combatant—a preference which would be a variation from the strict rules of neutrality from the mercantile side, affecting supplies of all kinds, would have as serious an effect upon the ultimate decision of the war as active participation. (Hear, hear.) It must be said that, in a position of immense delicacy, the United States has interpreted her official neutrality with an unimpeachable fidelity to long established rules. The position is not a new one. Every great neutral nation in turn has had to face the same delicate and intricate problems in time of war, and every Government, at one time or another, has been attacked by the people of its own country, as well as by the belligerents, for not departing from strict neutrality to meet a by no means strictly controlled public sentiment.

Never, however, since the rules controlling the con-

duct of nations in time of war have taken form, either by precedent or by the written rule of the Declaration of Paris, has any neutral nation had to face the difficulties attached to its neutrality such as have faced the United States since August, 1914. She has had to make protest, or to seek explanation, of acts of naval warfare of this country in which there were certainly elements of anxiety for our Foreign Office and the Government; but whether it was the question of the *Dacia* and the purchase of ships, or the *Wilhelmina* and contraband, or the new blockade, which differs from other blockades of the past in that it is wider in area and yet less severe upon neutrals, a temperateness, a courtesy, and a moderation have been shown for which this country cannot be too grateful. That temperateness, moderation and courtesy, however, have not by a hair's breadth infringed the rights of our foes under International Law. Since this war began there has breathed through the official actions of the American Government in relation to this country the spirit of Abraham Lincoln; and no higher tribute can be paid to any Government than that. (Applause.)

At the time of the Civil War, a most delicate question arose between the United States and this country, namely, the seizure of the British packet-ship *Trent* by the United States man-of-war *San Jacinto*. On board the *Trent* were two representatives of the Secession Government, Messrs. Mason and Slidell. The British Government demanded the release of the envoys, on the ground that the *Trent* should not have been seized, and that under the British flag the two envoys were immune from capture. The cry, "They shall never be given up," was uni-

versally heard in the United States. Public opinion was stormy and indignant. Then it was that Lincoln, in peril of his own political position, of his influence upon his own people, at a most critical time in the history of the Civil War, insisted that the seizure was not lawful under International Law; declared that Great Britain was adhering to principles for which the United States had gone to war with her in 1812, and that Mason and Slidell must be given up. In the face of threats and widespread anger, Lincoln stood by the principles of International Law, not as a pedant, but as a patriot, to whom the perfect honour of his people and his country was more than all else. (Applause.)

Every effort has been made by Germany, through political pressure by German-Americans, by the incitement of racial feeling cultivated by the German Ambassador and by Herr Dernburg's Publicity Bureau, with its immense ramifications, to move President Wilson towards an abandonment of the strict rules of neutrality by prohibiting the export of munitions of war to this country. Had President Wilson yielded to this political pressure he would have sacrificed that neutrality which, with a great anxiety and diligent care, his Government has steadfastly preserved. (Applause.) That Germany cannot avail herself of the open market for munitions of war in the United States is due to the fact that with her great Navy, which for twenty-five years she has steadily developed, she is unable in the presence of the British Naval force to protect those munitions of war and supplies, which she would buy of the United States if she could. Great Britain's army on the

Continent of Europe is infinitely smaller than that of Germany, and is therefore at a great disadvantage. Germany's Navy is smaller than that of Great Britain, and is, therefore, at a disadvantage; and the United States would indeed be performing an unneutral act if it sought by abandoning the ordinary rules of neutrality to adjust those disproportions between the two belligerents on land or sea by whatever means. The American Government has pursued the only policy possible to a nation desirous of preserving its deservedly high reputation in the field of diplomacy. Its foreign policy has never deviated from the straight line of perfect rectitude in all its history. It has been in tune and sympathy with the highmindedness and sensible idealism of the American people in regard to great events in the world's history as its events march past. The influence of American public opinion is always thrown on the side of right as that opinion sees it, not on the side of prejudice. It can indeed be truthfully said that the American people stand for "Charity to all and malice towards none." (Applause.) It is not surprising, therefore, that all the combatants in this great war desire at least American good opinion, while Germany has desired, not only the good opinion, but an active support —not through Armies and Navies, but through the manipulation and distortion of neutral rights in her favour.

The use of German-American political influences, and the threat of what it could do was not a very logical position for a logical nation like the Germans to take up; because if the feeling, or influence, of sections of the American people are to be considered, then, on the basis of the majority ruling, the American Govern-

ment must have abandoned its strict neutrality in the favour of the Allies; for we are assured from a thousand quarters in the United States that the overwhelming majority of the American people are in sympathy with our cause. (Applause.) That is acknowledged bitterly and viciously by the Germans themselves. There are those, however, in this country who have been as illogical, as unreasonable, and as unwise as the Germans. They have been unable to understand why, when the American people, by an immense majority favour the cause of the Allies, the American Government should remain neutral, or should not completely and openly support the Allies. They cannot understand why the United States should not officially have condemned Germany for its violation of Belgian neutrality. To my mind the position is shortsighted, is unjust, and pedantic. I do not hesitate to say that the universal condemnation of the violation of Belgian neutrality, with the cruel and murderous treatment of Belgium, through a process of official atrocity committed on such towns as Dinant, Aerschot, Malines, Louvain and Termonde, has in its spontaneity and freedom from official direction an infinitely greater effect upon the world than any official reproach, with its carefully worded phrases, could have had. (Applause.)

The newspapers and the people of the United States have been free to express themselves untrammelled by any complications which might have occurred, if, for instance, Germany, on the receipt of an official Note conveying reproach, had told the United States to mind her own business. The reply to the few dissatisfied people here to this would be, "Ah, then, the United States if she were

challenged by Germany would abandon her neutrality and take part in the war on the side of the Allies!" To very many others, however, it is infinitely better for the world's sake, and I believe for our own, that the United States should not abandon her neutrality. (Hear, hear.) It may be that many more nations than are now at war in Europe will be involved before summer has come. In the interests of a stable civilisation it is essential that the steadying, wholesome, dispassionate and honourable influence of the United States should, unhampered by the terrible restrictions of belligerency, be used in the interests of the whole world, and particularly in the interest of the small nations in the whole world, when the end of this war comes. Against militarism, and the results of militarism, the United States is opposed to a man. She will decide—she has decided for herself—whether this nation and this Empire is a militaristic nation and Empire. We do not fear her scrutiny in this regard; we welcome the closest study of our policy and our practice, and that is why the vast majority of us in this country feel that the United States can serve the best interests of civilisation by remaining outside the ring of this contest—her Government neutral officially and firmly impartial. That does not mean, however, that the people of the United States shall not be vocal in their sympathy and individually active, according to conscience in the support of any set of belligerents.

Conceive what would be the state of Belgium to-day, if the United States had abandoned her neutrality in favour of the Allies. Millions in that country would be starving. Since August last the United States has been busy in the

interests of humanity, lessening the horrors of war by hospital relief, providing comforts and necessities through an awful winter for the wounded of all the nations engaged; and every week there come especial gifts from each State —ships loaded with flour and food of all kinds, for a people whose land has been denuded as locusts ravage the fields of ripened grain and leave them bare. If for no other reason the neutrality of the United States should be welcomed by every British man, because of what she has done for suffering, starving, tortured Belgium. (Applause.)

If humanity is indebted to the United States Government for the incalculable service it has rendered in bringing relief to Belgium, how grateful should this country be to the American Government for the services rendered to our thousands of poor prisoners in Germany. The American Ambassadors in London and Berlin and the whole Ambassadorial staff have been placed at the service of our suffering wounded and our helpless officers and men who have had insufficient clothing, insufficient food, and have suffered as no German prisoners have been compelled to suffer in this country. Even at this day, in spite of the proposals made by the British Government for an agreed system of treatment of prisoners by both countries, and in spite of what the American Embassies have done, the suffering still is unpardonably great. It would have been terrible, however, had not the American Embassy officials, with a disregard of all personal considerations, or of the labour imposed upon them, performed a daily service as chivalrous as it was insistent for our unfortunate fighting men in captivity.

Few people in the United States conceive that it is

the duty of their Government to join in this conflict; but if it were the duty of the American Government to engage in it, and it refrained, it is the American people, not ourselves, who should protest and make their Government do its duty. The American people have a certain prejudice in favour of making up their minds, and that is why they have resented so strenuously and scathingly the campaign of the German Press Bureau in the United States.

Newspaper men in this country will gallantly agree that the American Press has exhibited the greatest enterprise, and shown extraordinary ability, in dealing with the war in their editorial columns. We hear more often than is agreeable to those who know the real facts of the sensationalism of American newspapers. Well, in any case, that sensationalism in most cases does not extend to editorial columns. Bold type and leading and catch headings are no longer the monopoly of the American Press—(laughter)—and sometimes I am not sure whether I am in Broadway or Piccadilly when I open a newspaper in my bed in the morning. (Laughter.) When I see a heading running across a page in type a half-inch in size, I feel that I ought to order a clam-chowder and Johnny-cake for breakfast. (Laughter.) The knowledge, information and capacity which mark the leading articles in many American papers since the war began are a credit to journalism. The treatment of difficult questions between England and the United States like that of contraband, purchase of ships, blockade, etc., has been remarkably restrained and courteous—far more so than if the ques-

tions were purely local ones, and concerned only their own Government.

The American people have made up their minds regarding this war, as they do about most questions relating to countries in Europe, quite independently of any racial prejudice. The American people are not with Great Britain in this war because so many Americans are come of British stock; they were not with us in the Boer War; they do not allow the fact that they speak the English language to influence them in favour of the English. The South spoke English when the North determined to compel it to remain within the Union. No, the American people are with us, not because of common racial origin or sentiment, but because they think we are right and that Germany is wrong; because of their hatred of the violation of Belgian neutrality; because they detest the militarism which would impose one civilisation and one set of national theories, by force of arms, upon the rest of the world. Instead of being prejudiced in our favour because of ties of language or of origin, the American people have been largely prejudiced in favour of Germany over many years. They have regarded German Universities as fountains of modern culture, research and disciplined thought. In every important American college are German teachers, or German-taught teachers; and American boys and girls have been educated in Germany by tens of thousands. The American people have had a great admiration for German unity—and Bismarck; they have had a wholesome respect for what they believe to be the homely virtues of the German people as a whole; but they are convinced that the German people have been misled and

misdirected by the militarists who have Prussianised Germany and would Prussianise the world. (Applause.)

Since this war began I have watched American opinion; I have read scores of American newspapers steadily; I have received vast numbers of letters from prominent Americans of all professions and positions in the United States since this war began; and I am convinced that the American people understand this war even better than we do, and their publications show that they understand it. As one prominent American wrote to me, "You are fighting as you never fought before; and we are thinking as we never thought before, not even in the days of our struggle to preserve the Union."

I believe that the American people see the issues of this war unblinded and unbiassed; and that we have the sympathy of the vast majority of the people of the United States to cheer and strengthen us, and give us heart and hope; and we should let that be sufficient. Were we deprived of that sympathy it would be like a giant subtraction from our material resources. The American Government is neutral, but millions of Americans abandoned their personal neutrality from the first week of the war. (Applause.)

I ask such fellow-countrymen of mine as have been impatient with the Government at Washington whether they have fully estimated the value of the moral support given to us by the people of the United States. Is there no material power in sympathy? The voice that says outside the ring, "Your cause is just, fight on," gives a higher voltage of energy. Sympathy maketh for understanding, and that understanding was never more valuable

than when we departed from the old traditional blockade, and relied upon the United States to see that our interpretation of the principles of International Law had not been changed by the new practice we were compelled to make. Sympathy disarmed suspicion of motive and of act. The withholding of that sympathy by the American people would mean a reduction in our national strength, would close up avenues of moral support worthy twenty Army corps.

I received a pathetic letter from a veteran of the American Civil War living in Boston, and owning a name familiar to all Americans. He said: "You want our sympathy. I can understand how much you want it by the extent we wanted yours in our Civil War, and were not secure of it. Well, you have our sympathy with all our hearts."

Nothing has ever been said upon this matter of international sympathy and moral support which has the meaning and poignancy of the reply of Abraham Lincoln on the 19th of January, 1863, to an address from the working men of Manchester. These are Lincoln's words:

> "It is not always in the power of Governments to enlarge or restrict the scope of moral results which follow the policies that they may deem it necessary for the public safety to adopt. I have understood well that the duty of self-preservation rests solely with the American people. But I have, at the same time, been aware that favour or disfavour of foreign nations might have a material influence in enlarging or prolonging the

struggle. . . . I have, therefore, reckoned on the forebearance of nations. Circumstances—to some of which you kindly allude—induce me especially to expect that if justice and good faith should be practised by the United States they would encounter no hostile influence on the part of Great Britain. It is now a pleasant duty to acknowledge the demonstration you have given of your desire that a spirit of amity and peace towards this country may prevail in the Councils of your Queen, who is respected and esteemed in your own country only more than she is by the kindred nation which has its home on this side of the Atlantic." (Applause.)

So much for the value which Lincoln placed upon the moral support offered by public opinion. But on another question in the same message he was equally lucid and convincing. Americans should remember what Lancashire suffered in the American Civil War through the blockade enforced against the South; and that these very Lancashire men, suffering from unemployment and on the verge of starvation, still had the courage and magnanimity to offer their sympathy to Lincoln's Government, which was cutting them off from work and food. To their noble utterance, this was Lincoln's reply :—

"I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the working-men of Manchester, and in all Europe, are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this Government, which was

built on the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favour of Europe. Under the circumstances, I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism, which has not been surpassed in any age, or in any country. . . . I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation; or, on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem, and the most reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment as an augury that whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country, as my own, the peace and friendship which now exist between the two nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them, perfected."

Here and there in this country it has been said that the United States kept silence officially when Belgium was invaded, but became agitated and vocal when American commerce was touched; that she was chiefly concerned in making money out of this war. It is not really necessary to reply to such foolish statements; but if it were, the critic could be reminded that again and again, when other countries have been at war, Great Britain has been charged with commercial selfishness and anxiety to secure advantage, and make money out of other people's troubles; and it is perfectly true that in the early part and the middle of last century, Great Britain did profit by the

wars which upset the trade and commerce and industry of other countries. It is not necessary to dwell upon this point. I do deeply trust that the United States will increase the production of her soil and the production of her workshops while this war is on, and when it is over. Her prosperity at this time would be an advantage, and not a disadvantage to the belligerents. It is essential that the United States should have a population at peace, cultivating the soil, developing industry, while Europe is in a state of war; that at least one great power shall not be building up thousands of millions of debt and living on credit; shall be free from the direct disturbance of finance, caused by the peremptory and formidable necessities of war. The vast majority of the people of this country profoundly believe that, if it could choose, the American nation would not have this war, though it meant a tenfold increase to its prosperity. (Applause.) The almighty heart is still stronger in the United States than the almighty dollar. The American people may rest assured that in this country the immense majority are deeply and profoundly grateful to them for their chivalrous and genuine sympathy; not simply because it is sympathy, but because the American people have made up their minds that we are right and that our enemies are wrong in this war; that our aims were peaceful aims, and the purposes of our enemy were purposes of warfare for territorial and material gain. We should have had many searchings of conscience if the judgment of the American people had gone against us at this time. Removed from European complications, the United States is a great court of equity,

and its judgments are invaluable to the nation that wins its approval, and secures from it the verdict of acquittal of crime against the peace of the world. For such a judgment we are thankful. We are convinced that in the years to come we shall have to be more to each other than we have been in the past. In the main issues of national life and conduct we do not differ. Our constitutional and political methods are not similar, but our responsibilities and aims are the same. We seek to extend our civilisation by the attributes of peace, not the arguments of the sword. We must come closer together in the interests of the world. (Loud and prolonged applause,)

THE CHAIRMAN: I think I express the feeling of all here in thanking Sir Gilbert for his very able and enlightening address, and I also feel that we all ought to wish Mr. Brittain God-speed and a safe clearance of England by the *Lusitania* on Saturday, when she bears him to America, and I can express to him on behalf of the people of America a welcome with open arms.

The meeting then terminated.

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